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Thesis

CHARACTERIZATIONS OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN IN REPRESENTATIVE AMERICAN NOVELS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

by

Claire Elizabeth Smith
(B.S. in Ed., Boston University, 1926)

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.

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-Outline-

CHARACTERIZATIONS OF INDIANS IN THE AMERICAN NOVEL OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

by

Claire Elizabeth Smith.

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CHARACTERIZATIONS OF INDIANS IN THE AMERICAN NOVELS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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-:-

I. Introduction.

A. Choice of topic.

During the spring semester of 1931 I had occasion to read THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN AMERICA by George Philip Krapp. My attention was particularly attracted to the following statement.[1] "A good Indian speaking in character has never been achieved. Ordinarily the Indian in the thrilling fiction in which he frequently appears is presented as speaking very little, his conversation consisting mainly of the exclamation 'Ugh, Ugh', enriched with some such statement as 'Me heap big Indian', or a request for fire water. In the more dignified style of writing he speaks entirely out of character." Again, [2]Dr. Krappsays, "The Indian never had a fair chance to be treated in literature as a human being. By the time Indians began to figure in literature they were idealized out of all recognition." Reasons for this are advanced by Dr. Krappin his article, but I have less concern with the reasons than with the way in which Indians have actually been portrayed in novels. I determined to examine one or more novels of each American author of the nineteenth

1. Krapp, George Philip: THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN AMERICA, Vol. I, Pub. Century Co., N.Y.,1925,p.265

2. Idem, p. 266.

century to find out how that author characterized the Indians.

B. Limitations of the field of research.

I have been amazed to discover how few authors of the nineteenth century treated of Indians in any way. Using the classification given by Van Doren in THE AMERICAN NOVEL[1] I examined books of the first large period of American fiction, from Charles Brockden Brown to Theodore Winthrop. Following that came the dime novels which Van Doren asserts grew naturally out of the New York Ledger. He refers to these authors as "Sensationalists" and balances them with a list of "sentimentalists", among whom were the evangelical sentimentalists such as Rev. Josiah Gilbert Holland and Rev. Edward Payson Roe. These were closely followed by the novelists of local color and the advance of realism. Then the last decade brought the greatest number of historical novels of the century, preparing the way for the avalanche of them in the early twentieth century.

It seemed best to eliminate the "blood and thunder" dime novels, because they were too hastily written to have achieved distinction and enduring fame as literature. The Indian of the dime novel is usually a mighty devourer of "fire-water," a "heap bad" Indian, who is present in the novel for no good purpose except to be killed by the hero.

It seemed wise, also, to eliminate all historical stories

1. Carl VanDoren, THE AMERICAN NOVEL, Pub. Macmillan Co., 1921 p. 109ff.

classified by the GUIDE TO HISTORICAL FICTION,[1] as juvenile, though many of these stories are admirable pieces of work, well calculated to hold the attention of the adult or the juvenile, and often contain Indians, who are always of the type which sweeps down upon a defenseless settlement and carries away the settlers captive to Canada, as in Mary P. Wells Smith's BOY CAPTIVE IN CANADA, or murders the unsuspecting settlers and burns blockhouses with fire arrows as in the numerous books of Elijah Kellogg.

In excluding poetry from my field of examination, I eliminated the highest possible idealization of the Indian. Such never-to-be-forgotten pictures as Mogg Megone, Hiawatha, and Last of the Norridgewocks are to be missing from this article.

C. Sources of material.

The short story I passed over, because of the brevity of the pictures of characters, thus narrowing the field to real full length novels intended for adult reading, written by authors of approved standing listed in such works as STANDARD CATALOGUE FOR PUBLIC LIBRARIES, FICTION SECTION,[2] A GUIDE TO HISTORICAL FICTION,[3] and CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE, Vol. I.[4]

1. Ernest A. Baker, A GUIDE TO HISTORICAL FICTION, Macmillan Co., N.Y. 1914.

2. Corinne Bacon, STANDARD CATALOGUE FOR PUBLIC LIBRARIES, PUB. BY H.W.Wilson Co., N.Y. 1931.

3. Ernest Baker, (See #1)

4. Trent, Erskine Sherman, VanDoren CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE, G.P.Putnam's Sons, N.Y. 1917.

A number of books which, like Gen. Lewis Wallace's FAIR GOD, deal with Aztecs, Toltecs, or Incas, it has seemed best to omit because of the high degree of civilization of those races and the different European race with which they formed contact. All the Indians to which I have made reference inhabited the territory now embraced within the continental United States, except for occasional excursions into Canada with tribes found also on the American side of the Great Lakes.

A list of full-length novels by American authors of the nineteenth century was prepared after consulting THE STANDARD CATALOGUE FOR PUBLIC LIBRARIES: FICTION SECTION,[1] Baker's GUIDE TO HISTORICAL FICTION, THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE, and VanDoren's THE AMERICAN NOVEL. THE STANDARD CATALOGUE is arranged by subjects. Only titles under "Indians" and "Indian Wars" were considered. THE GUIDE TO HISTORICAL FICTION is divided into historical periods, gives dates of publication of the books, and indicates "juveniles" which I avoided. Under the topics "Colonization" and "French and Indian Wars" many stories were listed. Books whose titles were taken from the CAMBRIDGE HISTORY or VanDoren's THE AMERICAN NOVEL had to be examined one by one for Indian material. The latter book is divided into literary periods. No titles from the paragraphs on dime novels were used. Additions to the list were made from the card catalogue of Springfield City Library, and from my personal reading memoranda. The completed list[2] was then arranged as nearly as possible according to dates of first appearance and given below in that order.

1. For complete data on books mentioned in this paragraph, see pages 79 and 80.

2. For complete data on books in this list, see pages 77 and 78.

1799 - Brown, B. C.: EDGAR HUNTLY

1823 - Cooper, J. F.: THE PIONEERS

1826 - " " " THE LAST OF THE MOHICANS

1827 - " " " THE PRAIRIE

1827 - " " " THE WEPT OF WISH-TON-WISH

1831 - Paulding, J. K.: THE DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE

1835 - Simms, W. G.: THE YEMASSEE

1839 - Thompson, D. P.: GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS

1840 - Cooper, J. F.: THE PATHFINDER

1841 - " " " THE DEERSLAYER

1841 - Kirkland, Mrs. C. M. S. A NEW HOME, -WHO'LL FOLLOW?

1834 - Cooper, J. F.: WYANDOTTE

1845 - " " " SATANSTOE

1845 - " " " THE CHAINBEARER

1846 - " " " THE REDSKIN

1848 - " " " OAK OPENINGS

1857 - Holland, J. G.: THE BAY PATH

1863 - Winthrop, T.: THE CANOE AND THE SADDLE

1869 - Stowe, Mrs. H. B.: OLDTOWN FOLKS

1879 - Bellamy E.: DUKE OF STOCKBRIDGE

1880 - Cable, G. W.: THE GRANDISSIMES

1882 - King, Capt. C.: THE COLONEL'S DAUGHTER

1884 - Jackson, H. H.: RAMONA

1885 - Cooke, J. E.: MY LADY POKAHONTAS

1886 - Catherwood, M. H.: THE STORY OF TONTY

1886 - King, Capt. C.: MARION'S FAITH

1891 - " " " CAPTAIN BLAKE

1899 - Johnston, M.: TO HAVE AND TO HOLD

DESCRIPTIONS OF INDIANS IN THE NOVELS.

II. Description of the Indians in the novels.

A. Method of description.

The novels of the nineteenth century, especially those of the early decades, were very much given to description. In any of the novels which used Indians either as local color or as characters, a large amount of it was considered necessary. If there was to be a description of the natural environment, it was frankly furnished by the author as a preliminary to some scene in which the Indians are to appear; but statements regarding traits of character, instincts or customs were quite frequently put into the mouths of the white men, as being more articulate. The latter is decidedly the case with the traits and customs of the Delawares, Hurons, and Iroquois as told by Hawkeye in LAST OF THE MOHICANS; by Captain Percy in TO HAVE AND TO HOLD; by Warrington and others in GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS; by Tonty and LaSalle in THE STORY OF TONTY; and by different soldiers in Captain Blake's books. With almost tiresome regularity each move of Chingachgook and Uncas is made intelligible by the explanation of Hawkeye for the benefit of Cora and Alice.

Books in which the author undertakes responsibility for description of traits and customs are THE BAY PATH, by J.G. Holland; THE YEMASSEE, by W. G. Simms; and OLD TOWN FOLKS, by H. B. Stowe. An example from THE YEMASSEE follows:[1] "And here we may remark, that it is rather too much the habit to speak of the Indians, at home and in their native character,

1. W.G.Simms: THE YEMASSEE, Pub. by A.C.Armstrong & Son, 1882, p. 300.

as sternly and indifferently cold - people after the fashion of the elder Cato, who used to say that he never suffered his wife to embrace him except when it thundered------We should be careful not to speak of them as we casually see them, - when, conscious of our superiorty, and unfamiliar with our language, they are necessarily taciturn; as it is the pride of an Indian to hide his deficiencies. With a proper policy which might greatly benefit upon circulation, he conceals his ignorance by silence."

B. External appearances.

1. Physical characteristics.

Any author using Indians as principals in the plot attends to their external appearance with extreme care. Among these word pictures appear the aged, the youth, the warrior in his prime, the chief in council, the squaw, the courier, the medicine man, the prophet, the drunkard, the victim at the stake, the ferocious villain, and the noble protector. Sometimes the description is attended to upon the first entrance of the character, sometimes at a crisis in his life, sometimes in brief, cumulative sentences as the character develops. Uncas, in LAST OF THE MOHICANS receives such a cumulative description, of which this is the beginning: [1]

"At a little distance in advance stood Uncas, his whole person thrown powerfully into view.--the upright, flexible figure of the young Mohican, graceful and unrestrained in the attitude and movements of nature. Though his person was more than

1. J.F.Cooper: LAST OF THE MOHICANS, Pub.by Chas.Scribner's Sons, 1924, p. 47-48.

usually screened by a green and fringed hunting shirt, like that of the white man, there was no concealment to his dark, glancing, fearless eye, alike terrible and calm; the bold outline of his high, haughty features, pure in their native red; or to the dignified elevation of his receding forehead, together with the finest proportions of a noble head, bared to the generous scalping tuft."

Tamenund, the superannuated chief of the Delawares, enters only once and receives an introductory description:[1] "At length one of those low murmurs that are so apt to disturb a multitude, was heard and the whole nation arose to their feet by a common impulse. At that the door of the lodge in question opened, and three men, issuing from it, slowly approached the place of consultation. They were all aged, even beyond that period to which the oldest present had reached; but one in the center, who leaned on his companions for support, had numbered an amount of years to which the human race is seldom permitted to attain. His frame which once had been tall and erect, like a cedar, was now bending under the pressure of more than a century. The elastic light step of the Indian was gone, and in its place he was compelled to toil his tardy way over the ground inch by inch. His dark, wrinkled countenance was in singular and wild contrast with the long white locks which floated on his shoulders in such thickness as to announce that generations had probably passed away since they had last been shorn."

1. J.F.Cooper: LAST OF THE MOHICANS, Pub.by Chas.Scribner's Sons, 1924, p.307.

Here is a silhouette of Nantauquas at a crisis of his career:[1] "Upon the crest, against the sunrise stood the figure of a man,-- an Indian. From one shoulder hung an otterskin, and a great bow was in his hand. His limbs were bare, and as he stood motionless, bathed in the rosy light, he looked like some bronze god, perfect from the beaded moccasins to the calm, uneager face below the feathered headdress. He had but just risen above the brow of the hill; the Indians in the hollow saw him not."

2. Clothing.

The external appearance of the Indian did not depend so much upon the clothing as that of the white characters, quite naturally, since the favorite costume for running, hunting and the warpath was like that of Kipling's Gunga Din. The authors seem to agree upon one article of clothing for all the Indians, namely, moccasins. Even Edgar Huntly in the cave beheld moccasins first of all. By 1880 moccasins had become so popular and useful that the white soldiers in all of Capt. King's books were provided with them for campaign use.

Another decoration quite generally agreed upon is war paint. Authors nearly always adorn their Indians with paint. With it the Indians prepared for the feast, the warpath, the vigil amd the funeral. The Big Serpent, Hawkeye tells us, always carries his paints about him. With Chingachgook's kit Hawkeye made an Indian conjuror out of Duncan Heyward.

1. Mary Johnston: TO HAVE AND TO HOLD, Pub. by Grossett & Funlap, (No edition date) p. 304-305.

Captain Percy in TO HAVE AND TO HOLD tells us that the war-paint of the Paspaheghs and Pamunkeys was black. Chingachgook wore a white painting of a skeleton to frighten his enemies. The youth who awaited his vision of a guardian animal was painted white. The war post itself was painted red, but colors in war-paint seem to have been set by tribal customs. Occasionally stories insist upon tattooing; Edgar Huntly views the tattooed legs of his enemies in the cave, but the usual mention of tattooing concerns the tribal emblem. The climax of THE YEMASSEE is based upon the threatened removal of the broad arrow from the shoulder of Occonestoga, a disgrace to which death was considered preferable. Uncas claims kinship with the Delawares of the great encampment by revealing the blue tortoise of the Mohicans on his chest.

Uncas and his father Chingachgook wore hunting suits like those of the white scout, the buckskin or cloth hunting shirt and leggings. Neshobee and the other domesticated Indians of the community are so dressed. It is well to remember some sort of wrap in necessary most of the year in the northern clime. The fur robes of the Indians were succeeded by the blanket. Nantauquas and Opechancanough have their otterskin wraps and the old Tamenund his robe[1] "of the finest skins, which had been deprived of their fur, in order to admit of a hieroglyphical representation of various deeds in arms, done in former ages." THE YEMASSEE [2] contains an ingenious description

1. J.F.Cooper, LAST OF THE MOHICANS, Chas.Scribner's Sons, 1934, p. 308.

2. W.G.Simms, THE YEMASSEE A.C.Armstrong & Son, 1882

of the manner in which the Indians had been taught by the whites to shape clothing from the skins of beasts. W.G.Simms is authority for the statement that previous to the coming of the whites these Yemassees had worn the skins loosely wrapped about them as robes which they were compelled to shed when about to engage in any form of activity and that such a nudity was as displeasing to an Indian as to a white man.

Therefore, Sanutee, "well-beloved",chief of the Yemassees wore a sort of pantaloons, constructed of tanned buckskin of brightest yellow, tied on the seams, but not sewed. They were tight fitting. An upper garment, also of buckskin, made wider and called a hunting shirt completed his outfit. This was belted at the waist.

The Yemassees wore no gaudy ornaments like those of other tribes. Such ornaments, for example, as those with which Tamenund was adorned:[1] "His bosom was loaded with medals, some in massive silver, and one or two even in gold, the gifts of various Christian potentates during the long period of his life. He also wore armlets, and cinctures above his ankles of the later precious metal. His head, on the whole of which the hair had been allowed to grow, the pursuits of war having been so long abandoned, was encircled by a sort of plated diadem, which in its turn,bore lesser and more glittering ornaments, that sparkled amid the glossy hues of three drooping ostrich feathers, dyed a deep black, in touching contrast to the color of his snow-white locks. His tomahawk was nearly hid in silver, and the handle of his knife shone like a horn of solid gold."

1. J.F.Cooper,LAST OF THE MOHICANS,Chas.Scribner & Sons,N.Y., 1924,p.308.

And here is the awe-inspiring Opechancanough.[1] "An eagle feather was thrust through his scalp lock; over his naked breast, that was neither painted nor pricked into strange figures, hung a triple row of pearls; his mantle was woven of bluebird feathers, as soft and sleek as satin."

It is a far cry from that eastern potentate of the Paspaheghs to these scouts in THE CAPTAIN'S DAUGHTER by Captain Charles King.[2] "Their swarthy features, glittering bead-like eyes, their coarse, matted black hair, for all the world like a Shetland pony's mane and forelock, falling in masses like an immense 'bang' over their foreheads and down to the eyes in front, hanging in tangled clumps to the neck behind; their slender but sinewy legs and arms, their rude dress,-- not an ornament or a patch of paint,---But here were two noted men of their tribes, Kwonahelka, a chief of the Apache-Mohaves, Arahawa, sub-chief and interpreter of the Apache-Yumas,-- and dirty white cotton turbans, shirts and breech-clouts, with substantial moccasins, constituted their costume." Arahawa was known in the story as 'Washington Charley'-a great degrading of name and appearance. Somehow the reader is a little troubled by it, as Captain King intended the public should be, for these are reservation Indians of whom he is speaking. The wild naked Tontos climbing up the rocks to reach the beleaguered soldiers fit the picture, but the turbaned and shirted 'Washington Charley' does not.

1. Mary Johnston, TO HAVE AND TO HOLD, Grosset & Dunlap, (No edition date) p. 310.

2. Capt.Chas.King:THE CAPTAIN'S DAUGHTER, J.B.Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, (NO edition date) p.168-169

Blanket-clad Indians in fiction appear to be chiefly hangers-on of forts, idle and dissolute reservation Indians, wards of the nation. To be sure, blankets appear in nearly every story where Indians are, but they occupy the blanket's rightful place as bedding or a wrap for the aged and enfeebled or inactive Indians. The trade blanket soon took the place of the bear skins of Sanutee. Mrs. Kirkland, writing in 1841 [1] about Michigan, describes an Indian of unknown tribe: "His hat boasted a broad band of silver lace; his tunic,leggings and moccasins were whole and somewhat ornamented; his blanket glorying in a bright red border; and on his shoulder slung by a broad thong was a pack of furs of considerable value." Such a trade blanket would be warm and colorful, but hardly a worthy successor to the cloak of bluebird feathers which reminds one of the mysterious southern origin, possibly Aztec, of Opechancanough.

The clothing of special dignitaries within a tribe is often very graphically described, just as is the custom with the unusual attire of any character in a novel. Consider, for example, the attire of Malatchie, the Yemassee executioner,who has just removed the broad arrow from the shoulders of the disgraced chiefs:[2] "His garments were stained and smeared with blood and covered with scalps, which, connected together by slight strings, formed a loose robe over his shoulders. In one hand he carried a torch, in the other a knife."

1. C.M.S.Kirkland,A NEW HOME,-WHO'LL FOLLOW? Chas.S.Francis, N.Y., 1841.

2. W.G.Simms: THE YEMASSEE, Pub. by A.C.Armstrong & Son,1882 p. 212.

C. Their homes.

A description of the home of an Indian is seldon used unless it is desirable to transport some of the principal characters thither. In EDGAR HUNTLY by Charles Brockden Brown the hut of Queen Mab is quite carefully described, because in it Edgar and the rescued girl take shelter, though the owner, fortunately for them, was not at home at the time. The usual method is to make mention of the habitation of the particular tribe of Indians, giving only a one or two word description. The Delaware village in LAST OF THE MOHICANS contained a log hut occupied for a time by David, the singer, as well as the beautiful skin lodge in which Uncas is imprisoned and the cave in which the dying princess is placed. THE YEMASSEE,[1] speaks of "the squat clay hovel of the savage." In the village of the Pamunkeys there were long communal houses which reminded one of the long-houses of the Iroquois mentioned in Cooper's books. Books by Captain King mentioned "wicky-ups" of the Apaches, but where are the beautifully decorated, commodious teepees of the Blackfoot and Sioux with which James Willard Schultz and Dr. Charles Eastman have, in more recent times made us familiar? They do not seem to be very common in the nineteenth century novels. The houses of the Temecula Indians mentioned in RAMONA[2] had walls of adobe and roofs of bundles of tule reeds. Some of the buildings in the pueblo of Temecula were entirely of tule. The homes of the numerous tribes visible

1. W.G.Simms: THE YEMASSEE, Pub. by A.C.Armstrong & Son, 1882 p. 11.

2. H.H.Jackson, RAMONA, Pub. by Little, Brown & Co., 1931, p.141.

around the Rock of St. Louis[1] received brief mention as the reader is asked to see them from the Rock. They seem to be as varied as the tribes represented.

D. Their customs.

1. As Indians.

Customs, too, varied with the tribe named in the story, but the books agree quite faithfully on certain customs for all Indians. To many of these the civilized Indians of RAMONA, OLD TOWN FOLKS, and DUKE OF STOCKBRIDGE must, of course, be considered exceptions. Here are some of the customs on which the novels agree:

a. Some form of totem or tribal designation. Totems were characteristic of all the Indian tribes, a sort of recognition sign which told at once whether this stranger was friend or enemy. It had the same purpose as a knight's coat-of-arms. Authors like to make Indians wear totems significant of their characteristics. Magua, the Huron, who is of the fox totem, has dubbed himself Le Renard Subtil, and behaves accordingly. (See also Section B.)

b. A spirit animal selected by each youth in a long vigil to be his guardian and guide. The animal came to the boy in a vision, offering him protection and advice concerning his future conduct. The exact manner in which this vigil was performed varied, but is mentioned in many stories to which I have referred in section H. It formed a part of the nobler aspect of the Indian religion.

c. Belief in a Manitou, creator of all things, and in many other subordinate and less beneficient spirits. (See Section H.)

1. M.Catherwood;STORY OF TONTY, A.C.McClurg & Co. 1928.

d. Braves for the council, the hunt, and the war-path; squaws for all the work of the village and the garden. This division of labor has often been presented in novels as though the squaw received much the heavier burden. It is well occasionally to remember that the hunt which was to provide food for the family was a time-consuming affair, calling for skill and strength, that fighting was almost continuous, and that the council of chiefs had the government of the entire tribe to provide for. A picture showing a brave at rest in his lodge, or sitting in front of the wigwam smoking, does not represent the major portion of the brave's time.

e. The War-post, the war-dance, the war-paint, and the war-whoop. Almost any story that has Indians in it includes at least one war-dance, a war-whoop or two, and a gaudily painted war-post. The warriors promptly put on war-paint, strike the war-post with their tomahawks, and rush down upon the enemy which they have thrown into helpless confusion with the war-whoop. Fearsome memories of the war-whoop lasted far down into the nineteenth century. C.M.S.Kirkland,writing about 1840, says that her travelers, while sleeping at a trading post in Michigan kept by a Frenchman and his Indian wife,were awakened by a howling noise. They thought immediately of the war-whoop and expected to be scalped before morning,but nothing happened. In the morning the trader explained that it was merely the Indians returning for more liquor which he was in the habit of selling them despite the law.[1] In the times of which

1. C.M.S.Kirkland,A NEW HOME,-WHO'LL FOLLOW? Chas.S.Francis, N.Y.,1841, 3rd edition,p.45

Edward Bellamy wrote in THE DUKE OF STOCKBRIDGE, we are told, that the people of Stockbridge shook at any considerable noise because "thirty-one years before, on a summer Sunday morning, the Schaghticokes had come down upon the infant settlement creating a scene of wild terror."[1] Simms thus describes a war-post of the Coosaws, allies of the Yemassees.[2] "The huge club, stuck up conspicuously among them, besmeared with coarse paint and surmounted with a human scalp, instructed Harrison sufficiently as to the purpose of the party. The war club carried from hand to hand and in this way transmitted from tribe to tribe, from nation to nation, by their swiftest runners, was a mode of organization not unlike that employed by the Scotch for a like object." After describing the tribes that are hurrying to the rallying place, Simms gives us a brief picture of the war-dance. The young warriors, boys and women began the dance[3] "that terrible but fantastic whirl"--- "regulated by occasional strokes upon the uncouth drums and an attenuated blast from the more flexible native bugle"--"that dance of death, which, perfectly military in its character, calling for every possible position or movement common to Indian strategy, moves them all with an extravagant sort of grace; and if contemplated without reference to the savage purposes which it precedes, is singularly pompous and imposing; wild it is true, but yet exceedingly unaffected and easy, as it is one of the most familiar practices of Indian education. In this way

1. Edward Bellamy DUKE OF STOCKBRIDGE, Pub. by Silver Burdett & Co., 1900, p.245

2. W.G.Simms, THE YEMASSEE, A.C.Armstrong & Son, 1882, p.276.

3. Idem, p.296.

by extreme physical exercise, they provoke a required degree of mental enthusiasm."[1] He goes on to say that the natives have many kinds of songs and dances to evoke different moods, and also to chronicle historical events of the tribe, a new game or song being written for each new event, like a successful hunt. The enthusiasm being sufficiently developed, the battle song of the Yemassees is roared out. Here it is, made into English poetry by Mr. Simms.[2]

"Sangarrah-me, Yemassee
Sangarrah-me-Sangarrah-me
Battle god Manneyto
Here's a scalp, here's a scull,
This is blood, 't is a heart,
Scalp, scull, blood, heart,
'Tis for thee, battle god,
'Tis to make the feast for thee,
Battle god of Yemassee!"

Though the war dance was a time of great noise, the departing war party was a silent menace. Here is such a party of Paspaheghs[3] led by Youghtenund: "As they crossed the stream one stooped and drank from his hand, but they said no word and made no noise. All were painted black; A few had faces and chests stripped with yellow. Their head dresses were tall and wonderful, their leggings and moccasins fringed with scalp locks.

1. W.G.Simms,THE YEMASSEE,A.C.Armstrong & Son,N.Y.,1882,p.297.

2. Idem, p. 279

3. Mary Johnston,TO HAVE AND TO HOLD,Grossett & Dunlap, (No ed.date) p. 342.

Their hatchets glinted in the sunshine, and their quivers were stuck full of arrows. One by one they glided from the stream into the thick woods beyond." It is worth noticing that there were some original efforts in war-paint but not the equal of Chingachgook with the complete skeleton painted upon his body in white and black.

f. Use of wampum in strings or belts as a medium of exchange and for records. Most of the eastern Indians used wampum or shell beads as a medium of exchange and also for making wampum belts as records of agreements and treaties. One of these belts appears in nearly every novel where there is a bargain consumated. Often the wealth of a chief was well represented by the strings of wampum hanging from the necks of his wife or wives.

The treaty belt shown to Sanutee and Ishiagaska[1] was a strip of red cloth, "not over six inches in width, but several yards in length, worked over at intervals with symbols and figures of the most fantastic description-- among which were birds and beasts, reptiles and insects, rudely wrought, either in shell or beads, which, however grotesque had yet their signification."---"By this instrument they were taught to declare hostility and friendship, war and peace,"--"Each tribe, having its own hieroglyphic, supposed or assumed to be especially characteristic, affixed its totem, or sign manuel to a belt." This particular belt represented a bargain between the Spanish and the Yemassees for war against the English. It contained the totems of these tribes: Cussoboe, Alatamaha, Serannah, the hill chief of Apalachy, the wolf tribe of the

1. W.G.SimmsTHE YEMASSEE,A.C.Armstromg & Son,N.Y.1882,p.73.

Cherokee, bear tribe, Catabas and Creeks, Isundiga, Santee, Chickaree, Winyah, and last but not least, the arms of Spain executed with great difficulty by an old Indian squaw employed for the purpose.

Cammuk received from Mr. Pynchon for his furs, a hatchet and a balance of wampum. Even the settlers used the wampum for trade.[1]

g. The council as a governing body.

Every traveler among the Indians likes to describe a council of the chiefs. It must indeed have been an imposing ceremony if the novels have not too greatly exaggerated it. A war council was a feverish, hectic affair; but the common council at which matters of government and of justice were decided, was very deliberate indeed. Often a council was held to try prisoners and sometimes merely for the purpose of parleying with delegations from other tribes or the white governors. At such a council there was always much speech making, of which I shall speak later under topic III-B Apparently the Indian chiefs loved to harangue their fellow tribesmen upon the history of the race and the glories of the tribe, often using such a speech to arouse the emotions to a pitch where the proposal the crafty old chief has in mind, will be tolerated. So the Werowance of the Paspaheghs prepared his audience for the burning of Diccon and Captain Percy,[2] and so Magua wheedled from the Delawares the captive Cora.[3]

1. J.G.Holland THE BAY PATH,Chas.Scribner's Sons,1909,p.12.
2. Mary Johnston,TO HAVE AND TO HOLD,Grossett & Dunlap,no date,
3. J.F.Cooper,LAST OF THE MOHICANS,Chas.Scribner's Sons,1924,

So Sanutee and the Prophet inflamed the crowd sufficiently to make them vote for the removal of the totems from the pro-English chiefs.[1] The Indians revered their chiefs, but only if brave, just, and wise. A chief could be impeached from his high position as those Yemassee chiefs were, or as the cowardly son of a chief was in the village of the Hurons.

Here is the Huron Magua before the council of chiefs in the council lodge of the Delawares:[2] "When he had reached the group in which it was evident, by the haughtiness of their common mien that the principal chiefs were collected, the stranger paused, and then the Delawares saw that the active and erect form that stood before them was that of the well-known Huron chief, Le Renard Subtil."

"His reception was grave, silent, and wary. The warriors in front stepped aside, opening the way to their most approved orator by the action; one who speaks all those languages cultivated among the northern aborigines." The Delaware greeted the Huron and invited him to eat succotash with him. Then the council continued with a trial of wits between Magua and the Delaware for the possession of the prisoners, particularly Cora. Magua brought gifts to the Delawares and presented them. When the request of Magua was understood the chiefs consulted together. Then the whole nation assembled and to this assembly came Tamenund as described in Section III-B.

h. Burning one's enemy at the stake.

Many of the writers like to insert some scenes where

1. W.G.Simms, THE YEMASSEE, A.C.Armstrong & Son, N.Y. 1882, p.108.

2. J.F.Cooper, LAST OF THE MOHICANS, Chas.Scribner's Sons, 1924, p. 301.

Indians torture their prisoners, a running of the gauntlet, or burning at the stake. From several of the novels we learn of a very refined method of burning the victim.-- Tie the prisoner to a post, let the young braves dance around him practicing throwing the tomahawks and insulting the prisoner; pile up the wood, insert in his flesh splinters of fat pine, and light up the funeral pyre.

This was the fate from which the captive Irishman in THE YEMASSEE[1] narrowly escaped when a careless youngster cut the thongs with a glancing blow of the hatchet. It was also the fate intended for the Carporal in OAK OPENINGS[2]. He seized the tomahawk of a tormentor who approached closer to insult him, killing him and wounding others.

In TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the red post is all prepared, the wood piled, the splinters ready, and the old squaws with torches are swooping down like witches upon Diccon and the Captain, when they are fortunately rescued by Nantauquas. It was not a practice limited to these Paspaheghs, for Hawkeye mentions it in LAST OF THE MOHICANS. Uncas runs the gauntlet, too, like that in some of the much later books. The authors mention several other sorts of torture, such as the sapling torture in OAK OPENINGS. The Hurons[3] had arrived with a prisoner at camp which "in a moment became a scene of the most violent bustle and commotion. The warriors drew their knives, and

1. W.G.Simms,THE YEMASSEE,A.C.Armstrong & Son,N.Y.,1882,p.288.

2. J.F.Cooper,OAK OPENINGS,in WORKS OF J.FENIMORE COOPER,Vol.VIII Pub.by Peter Fenelon Collier,N.Y.,1893,p.1977.

3. J.F.Cooper,LAST OF THE MOHICANS,Chas.Scribner's Sons,1924,p.247.

flourishing them, they arrange themselves in two lines, forming a lane that extended from the war party to the lodge. The squaws seized clubs, axes or whatever weapon of offence first offered itself to their hands, and rushed eagerly to act their part in the cruel game that was at hand. Even the children would not be excluded; but boys, little able to wield the instruments, tore the tomahawks from the belts of their fathers and stole into the ranks, apt imitators of the savage traits exhibited by their parents." The young captive is to run the gauntlet. "Just then the signal yell was given, and the momentary quiet which had preceeded it was broken by a burst of cries that far exceeded any before heard. The most abject of the two victims continued motionless, but the other bounded from the place at the cry, with the activity and swiftness of a deer. Instead of rushing through the hostile lines, as had been expected, he just [1] entered the dangerous defile, and before time was given for a single blow turned short, and leaping the heads of a row of children, he gained at once the exterior and safer side of the formidable array." --"There was a single moment when it seemed as if he would have reached the forest, but the whole body of his captors threw themselves before him, and drove him back into the centre of his relentless persecutors." He tries with agility to reach the forest, but seeing it is useless he reaches a painted post before the door of the principal lodge." [2] "His person was now protected by immemorial and sacred usage,until the tribe in council had deliberated and determined his fate."

1. J.F.Cooper,LAST OF THE MOHICANS,Chas.Scribner's Sons,p.248
2. Idem ,p. 249

i. Indian runners as messengers.

All of us have read in Cooper of the "long easy lope" and the distance covering trot of the Indians. Mrs. Kirkland's A NEW HOME , mentions the "easy trot which is habitual with the savage when on a journey."[1] Certain Indians whose ability at running, or rather trotting, long distances was well-known, acted as a means of communication. Nantauquas in TO HAVE AND TO HOLD comes and goes at great speed when he chooses. The war party mentioned before was "gliding" through the forest.

j. Use of places of refuge.

Quite a little is said in THE YEMASSEE about the "cities of refuge" such as Coosaw-hatchie. They seem to have been places of refuge from blood vengeance, but they protected the fleeing one only so long as he remained within the boundaries. They did give a chance to an innocent brave to prove his innocence or to obtain some form of protection. Ordinarily such a brief refuge afforded little hope. "The murderer was safe so long as he kept within the marked circuit; but he might never venture forth with hope to elude his enemy. The vengeance of the red man never sleeps, and is never satisfied while there is a victim." [2]

The refuge at Coosaw-hatchie was a circle of pines; the place in which Nantauquas hid Mistress Percy was just a deep and gloomy spot in the forest to which the Indians were afraid to go. Some evil spirit haunted the place.

1. C.M.S.Kirkland,A NEW HOME-WHO'LL FOLLOW, Chas.S.St.Francis, N.Y., 1841, p. 46.

2. W.G.Simms,THE YEMASSEE, A.C.Armstrong & Son,N.Y.,1882,p.17.

k. The death song.

All the Indians appeared to believe that the most fortunate way of dying was in battle. Then no one could be in doubt about their valor, and since valor was the prime virtue among the Indians, the warrior would be sure to pass straight to the happy hunting grounds. If he should have an opportunity to prepare for death, he would spend his few remaining moments singing his death song. Mr. Simms tells us, the death song was a boastful catalogue of all the warrior's brave deeds, chanted in a sort of singsong. Now a dying man can scarcely be expected to make poetry in the two or three minutes when his life is ebbing away, so we are told that this boastful song has been in preparation all his adult life, as he added deed after deed. Occonestoga has an opportunity to sing quite a lengthy death song, for the Yemassees do not intend killing him. Sanutee sings very shortly and dies at the feet of Matiwan. The Indians of Cooper do not get much time for death songs, because they meet death so suddenly. Still death songs are mentioned, but Cooper never attempts to make them poetry.

Occonestoga, in the corner of the block-house, is discovered by Harrison chanting his death song. He has had a dream warning him death is nigh, and he wishes his song to be ready for the occasion.

[1] "What is the Seratee? -
He is but a dog
Sneaking in the long grass -
I have stood before him,

1. W.G.Simms, THE YEMASSEE, A.C.Armstrong & Son 1882, p. 187.

And he did not look -
By his hair I took him,-
By the single tuft -
From his head I tore it,
With it came the scalp.-
On my thigh I bore it -
With the chiefs I stood,
And they gave me honor,
Made of me a chief,
To the sun they held me,
And aloud the prophet
Bade me be a chief -
Chief of all the Yemassee -
Feather chief and arrow chief -
Chief of all the Yemassee."

Then there was an interlude of prose in the same vein, then fifty more lines of the death song, Whereupon his English friends interrupted the crooning, unable to endure it longer. Occonestoga used a part of this song as he lay upon the tumulus awaiting his fate at the hands of his nation.

1. The giving of significant names.

Apparently Cooper and all the authors of his school believed that Indians always bore names having meaning, and that the meaning was connected with some trait of character, or some happening in his life. The best scholarship of the present day seems to agree with this. Some characters bore two or more descriptive names. Here are a few:-

Uncas, Le Cerf Agile, for his ability at running and bounding.
Chingachgook, The Big Serpent, for his wiliness and craft.
Magua, Le Renard Subtil, the subtle fox.

Sanutee, the Well-Beloved.

Le Coeur-dur, the Hard Heart.

These fictitious names are not so different from those of historical personages like Sitting Bull, Rain-in-the-face, and The Prophet.

2. As members of the tribe.

Examination seems to show that certain tribes are more popular with authors than others. It is doubtful whether the Lenni-Lennape really did possess all the virtues they appear to have had. Sometimes it was the curious tribal customs which attracted the writer, sometimes it was a notable character trait of a tribe, but very often it was merely that the author had first chosen a geographical setting and picked up the Indians of the neighborhood as a little desirable local color. Captain King's soldiers at the frontier posts are much the same in each book, but as the scene is removed to a different army post the name of the tribe and some of its customs have to be changed. In RAMONA the San Luiseno and Temecula Indians appear because the author was well-informed upon their history and habitat, and desired to use them as specimen cases with which to create public sentiment for the protection of the rights of all the Indians. In the books of W. G. Simms the tribes of the province of Carolina are featured, but very few customs are given, which would tend to distinguish the Yemassee from any other eastern Indian tribe. But in assembling the tribes of the allies against the English he gives distinct tribal characters of which these are examples:
The Coosaws - "Their diminutive persons, their small,quick, sparkling eyes, the dusky, but irritably red features, and the querulous upward turn of the nose,- a most distinguishing feature of this clan, showing a feverish quarrelsomeness of disposition, and a want of becoming elevation in purpose." [1]

1. W.G.Simms,THE YEMASSEE A.C.Armstrong & Son,1882,p.275.

The Sewecs - "He (Harrison) knew them by the number of shells which covered their garments, were entwined in their hair, and formed a peculiar and favorite ornament to their persons, while at the same time declaring their usual habitat."--"The Sewecs resembled the Coosaws in their general expression of face, but in person they were taller and more symmetrical, though slender."

The Iroquois seem to have been very popular with authors, perhaps because they furnished an example of an Indian confederacy, but more probably because they covered so large a territory lying just west of the Lenni-Lennape of Cooper and Brown, south of the Hurons and Chippewas, and east of the pacific Illinois who sought La Salle's protection.

In the GRANDISSIMES, by G. W. Cable, no pure blooded Indians appear as characters, but a brief biography of the grandmother of one of his Creoles calls attention to the fact that a curious custom of the Natchez tribe had been neglected. This was the shaping of an infant's head by binding a board upon its forehead. This effort at beauty culture which Lufki Humma had escaped was a rather rare custom. It is known to have been practiced by the Flathead Indians of the Willamette Valley. Most of the authors put in at least one papoose in its frame or cradle. The Yemassee papoose was wrapped in a bearskin and fastened to a board for security. The Indian babies at the Montreal Beaver Fair are thus described:[2] "Here and there light fell upon a tranquil mummy

1. W.G.Simms,THE YEMASSEE,A.C.Armstrong & Son,N.Y.,1882,p.276.

2. M.H.Catherwood,THE STORY OF TONTY,17th edition,pub.by A.C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, 1928, p. 11-12.

less than a metre in length, standing propped against a lodge side, and blinking stoical eyes in its brown, flat face, as only a bark-encased Indian baby could blink; or it slept undisturbed by the noise of the awakening camp, looking a mummy indeed."

Burial customs varied widely, and usually received some passing mention. The terrible scene in which Occonestoga is killed is enacted at the foot of a tumulus, an ancient burial mound of the Yemassee people.[1] The graveyard of the Temecula village was surrounded by an adobe wall which the Indians constructed before they built the town wall. In this little graveyard of the Christian Temeculas, Alessandro and Ramona found Carmena weeping for the dead Jose. She came at night for fear of the American[2] takers of the land, but the picture of her grief does not differ greatly from that of Dew-of-June remaining for a month or more at the grave of Arrowhead, while Pathfinder brings her food regularly. She is seated upon a stone, with her hair falling over her face.[3] Then Chingackgook returns and they depart, taking Dew-of-June with them to a new home. These, it will be noticed, are ground burials. A different manner is that mentioned in MARION'S FAITH, by Captain Charles King.[4]

1. W.G.Simms,THE YEMASSEE, A.C.Armstrong & Son,N.Y.,1882,p.278-9
2. H.H.Jackson,RAMONA,Little,Brown & Co., 1931,p.250.
3. J.F.Cooper,THE PATHFINDER,Jefferson Press,N.Y.,no edition date, p.503.
4. Capt.Chas.King,MARION'S FAITH,J.B.Lippincott Co., no edition date, p. 155.

The regiment came upon "the scaffolding sepulchre of Indian warriors lately slain in battle." These are Sioux.

Here is the imposing burial service of the Last of the Mohicans:[1] "Seated as in life, with his form and limbs arranged in grave and decent composure, Uncas appeared, arrayed in the most gorgeous ornaments that the wealth of the tribe could furnish. Rich plumes nodded above his head; wampum, gorgets, bracelets, and medals adorned his person in profusion; though his dull eye and vacant lineaments too strongly contradicted the idle tale of pride they would convey."---"Directly in front of the corpse Chingachgook was placed, without arms, paint, or adornment of any sort, except the bright blue blazonry of his race, that was indelibly impressed upon his naked bosom." The girls of the tribe chanted a speech to the spirit of Uncas, interrupted by bursts of wild grief. Then each great chief of the Delawares made a poetic speech of sorrow. The body of Uncas was then encased in a vestment of skins and buried.[2] "The body was deposited in an attitude of repose, facing the rising sun, with the implements of war and of the chase in hand, in readiness for the final journey. An opening was left in the shell by which it was protected from the soil, for the spirit to communicate with its earthly tenement when necessary; and the whole was concealed from the instinct,

1. J.F.Cooper, LAST OF THE MOHICANS, pub.by Chas.Scribner's Sons, 1924, p. 359.

2. Idem, p. 368.

and protected from the ravages of the beasts of prey, with an ingenuity peculiar to the natives.

E. Their weapons.

In Cooper's stories the weapons of the Indians were gun, knife and tomahawk. That is natural as these stories deal chiefly with the time of the French and Indian wars. By that time the Indians had either bought guns in trade, taken them in battle, or received them as equipment from the French or the English to whom they were allied. The steel hatchet had replaced the flint tomahawk very early. It was highly prized by the Indians because so much superior to their flint weapon. Cammuk in THE BAY PATH received for his big bale of furs a hatchet and the balance in wampum.[1] Steel knives also were bought in trade. The price of a good knife was many pelts. The Indians Edgar Huntly met in the cave possessed knives, hatchets and guns. With one of the hatchets the clever Edgar killed the sentinel without arousing the others. With one of the guns he disposed of all the others as opportunity offered. Skill in throwing the knife and tomahawk was a requisite of the young warrior, to be acquired whenever possible by practicing upon a human victim as he stood tied to the stake. The purpose of the thrower was, not to kill the victim, but to come as close to him as possible. If he could be brought to show fear, he would furnish great sport to his tormentors. If he could conceal every sign of fear he might win their respect. TO HAVE AND TO HOLD, THE YEMASSEE, and OAK OPENINGS have such scenes.

1. J.G.Holland, THE BAY PATH, pub.by Chas.Scribner's Sons, 1909, p.12.

Neshobee in GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS, like other frontier characters at the time of the Revolution, was possessed of a rifle, but poor Alessandro in RAMONA was so much an object of pity that he was weaponless. At the time of which THE YEMASSEE treats, (1715) that tribe was still in the bow and arrow stage. The Carolinians had been careful about the sale of such weapons of massacre as muskets and knives, but the Spanish, who were aiding and abetting the Yemassees, furnished enough muskets for each chief and knives for the common tribesmen. "The musket of that period, in the hands of the unpractised savage, was not half so dangerous as the bow."[1] Sanutee,[2] "was armed with the bow, arrows tied in a bunch with a thong of deerskin, and hatchet and tomahawk." Instances of skill with the bow are numerous; one of the most thrilling being that in which Occonestoga shot the rattlesnake before it could spring upon Bess Matthews.[3] Another is the bowshot with which Nantauquas halted the burning of Captain Percy. An odd weapon came to the council of Pocata-ligo with the Santee reinforcement. Simms describes it thus: [4] "They carried along with the bow, another and, in their hands, a more formidable weapon, a huge mace, four or five feet in length, of the heaviest wood, swelling into a large bulb or knot at the end. This was suspended by a thong of skin or sinews, from their necks."

1. W.G.Simms, THE YEMASSEE, pub. by A.C.Armstrong & Son, 1882, p.271.
2. Idem, p. 17.
3. Idem, p. 176
4. Idem, p. 277.

F. Means of transportation.

It is a well known fact that the Indians possessed no horses before the coming of the white man, nor, indeed, for a long time thereafter. All the novels which deal with eastern Indians speak, therefore, of the great speed with which the Indian runners could travel. Even a war party like that which Captain Percy saw, and from which he hid, was going at a trot and in single file as their custom was. (See section D,-1.)

In the east the Indians customarily traveled by canoe. There were many rivers, lakes and streams which formed natural waterways from the coast into the interior. To be sure, there were frequent falls and rapids, necessitating portages, but these were not insuperable difficulties. The Indians became experts at shooting rapids. One of the most thrilling chapters in the PATHFINDER is that in which Pathfinder, (Hawkeye) and the scouts negotiate the passage of the rapids. Here is a description of the canoe used by Pathfinder and Le Gros Serpent:[1] It was "one of the canoes of bark which the Indians are in the habit of constructing and which by their exceeding lightness, and the ease with which they are propelled, are admirably adapted to a navigation in which shoals, flood-wood, and other similar obstructions so often occur."---"It would not have exceeded the strength of a single man to lift its weight. Still it was long, and, for a canoe, wide,---a want of steadiness

1. J.F.Cooper, PATHFINDER, Jefferson Oress, N.Y., No ed.date, p. 32.

being its principal defect in the eyes of the uninitiated."- "Nor did the additional weight of the three guides tax its powers in a particular degree, the breadth of the rounded bottom allowing the necessary quantity of water to be displaced without bringing the gunwale very sensibly nearer to the surface of the stream. Its workmanship was neat; the timbers [1] were small and secured by thongs; and the whole fabric, though it was so slight and precarious to the eye, was probably capable of conveying double the number of persons that it now contained." Hawkeye managed this ascent of a rapid, but he learned his skill from the Indians: [2] "The scout directed Heywood and his disconsolate fellow travelers to seat themselves in the forward end of the canoe, and took possession of the other himself, as erect and steady as if he floated in a vessel of much firmer materials. The Indians warily retraced their steps toward the place they had left, when the scout, placing his pole against a rock, by a powerful shove, sent his frail bark directly into the centre of the turbulent stream. For many minutes the struggle between the light bubble in which they floated and the swift current was severe and doubtful. Forbidden to stir even a hand, and almost afraid to breathe, lest they should expose the frail fabric to the fury of the stream, the passengers watched the glancing waters in feverish suspense. Twenty times they thought the whirling eddies were sweeping them to destruction,

1. J.F.Cooper,THE PATHFINDER, Jefferson Press,N.Y.,No edition date, p.33.
2. J.F.Cooper,THE LAST OF THE MOHICANS,Chas.Scribner's Sons,N.Y., 1924, p.43-44.

when the master-hand of their pilot would bring the bows of the canoe to stem the rapid. A long, a vigorous and---a desperate effort closed the struggle. Just as Alice veiled her eyes in horror, under the impression that they were about to be swept within the vortex at the foot of the cataract, the canoe floated stationary at the side of a flat rock, that lay on the level with the water."-- "' You are at the foot of Glenn's-- and the next thing is to make a steady landing, lest the canoe upset, and you should go down again the hard road we have travelled, faster than you came up'."

For such trips as these the birch canoe was admirably fitted, being quite easily repaired. The canoe of the Yemassee was a dugout described as follows: [1] "A single cypress hollowed out by fire and the stone hatchet."

At the time when the United States troops were engaged in subduing the plains Indians, they found them well equipped with swift, wiry ponies. On the turf of the prairie these ponies ran unshod. In MARION'S FAITH by Captain King, the soldiers are on the trail of the Sioux.[2] "Up from among the wild rose-bushes along the sparkling stream, and climbing the great divide to the west, there ran a broad, new-beaten, dusty trail, pounded by the hoofs of ten thousand ponies, strewn on every side with abandoned lodge-poles, worn-out blankets, or other impedimenta, malodorous, unsightly." In the same book,[3] there is a battle with the Cheyennes. The

1. W.G.Simms,THE YEMASSEE, pub.by A.C.Armstrong & Son,1882,p.14.
2. Capt.Chas.King,MARION'S FAITH,pub.by J.B.Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, No date, p.110.
3. Idem, p.202.

Indians were mounted on ponies and swooped down upon the soldiers whooping and yelling.

In RAMONA Alessandro's band of sheep-shearers are all represented as riding horses in whose speed they felt much pride. There is also a unique method of carrying burdens. The squaws made a strong netted bag with a headband. A basket was placed over the squaw's head and the headband of the net adjusted on the basket, so that considerable weight could be endured.

G. Their food.

Whenever characters in a novel partake of food, the author has always a purpose other than the mere sustaining of life. Often it is desirable to show one of his characters in a new light as Cooper does Uncas at the first meal in the cave.[1] Uncas served Cora and Alice "with dignity and grace," though that was menial labor, suitable only for women, because "the rites of hospitality were---considered sacred among them." The sweet water was served in a gourd and the venison in a trencher carved from the knot of a pepperidge.

Very often the introduction of food into the story is intended to show the customs of the tribe. Although the Delawares were curious about Magua's coming, courtesy forebade them to ask what he wanted until he had been fed.[2] "The wise

1. J.F.Cooper, LAST OF THE MOHICANS, Chas.Jefferson Press, N.Y., No edition date, p.51.

2. J.F.Cooper, LAST OF THE MOHICANS, Chas Scribner's Sons, N.Y., 1924, p.301.

Huron is welcome", said the Delaware in the language of the Maquas; "he is come to eat his succotash with his brothers of the lakes."

Many times the preparation of food is part of the time or place setting for the next scene. In THE STORY OF TONTY the early morning of the Montreal Beaver Fair is pictured. The temporary lodges of the Indians were near the shore, and from them "the children stole out to caper beside the kettles where they could see their breakfasts cooking."[1] At the Pueblo of San Pasquale "the vintage time had nearly passed; everywhere were to be seen large, flat baskets of grapes drying in the sun. Old women and children were turning these, or pounding acorns in the deep stone bowls; others were beating the yucca-stalks and putting them to soak in water."[2] When Captain Percy entered the village of the Paspeheghs he noticed the fish drying frames and the many mulberry trees that encircled the village. On his way home from his wedding in Jamestown, Captain Percy bought a basket of mulberries from some Indians in a canoe.-- All a part of the setting, you see.

The novelists agree that the Indians feasted to satiety when food was plenty, and suffered in silence when food was scarce. One of the things against which Alessandro's father, the chief Pablo, had struggled for years, was the thriftlessness of some of his tribe. Educated, mission trained, and

1. M.H.Catherwood, THE STORY OF TONTY, A.C.McClurg & Co., 17th edition, 1928, p.11.

2. H.H.Jackson, RAMONA, Little, Brown & Co., 1931, p.285 .

thrifty himself, he tried to persuade them to reserve food for the future, but he did not always succeed. Heyward in LAST OF THE MOHICANS felt considerable alarm when Magua did not partake of the venison because it was such unwonted abstinence in the face of plenty.

The kinds of food vary with the geographical location of the tribe, but all the eastern Indians from Sanutee in Carolina to the Hurons on the Canada side of the lakes, were supposed to subsist chiefly on venison broiled over an outdoor fire, or boiled in the big kettles before the lodge doors. All these tribes raised maize, which was pounded into coarse meal. Cakes of maize were baked on the hot stones before the fire. Fish is often mentioned. The Indians near the shore dried them for the winter, having frames for the purpose like those in TO HAVE AND TO HOLD. Small game also appears in the stories as part of the feast, or as a gift like that which Cammuk brought to Mary Pynchon in THE BAY PATH.[1]

Cooper, writing LAST OF THE MOHICANS in 1826, thought best to explain in a footnote[2] that succotash was a "dish composed of cracked corn and beans." Mrs. Stowe in OLD TOWN FOLKS says Harry and Tina came to an Indian tent where an old Indian woman gave them succotash, "to wit, a soup of corn and beans, with a generous allowance of salt pork. Offering a large, clean clamshell to each of the children

1. J.G.Holland,THE BAY PATH, Chas.Scribner's Sons, 1909,p.10.

2. J.F.Cooper, LAST OF THE MOHICANS,Chas.Scribner's Sons, N.Y., 1924,-.301.

she invited them to help themselves."[1]

The Indians of the coast ate clams, oysters and mussels. An orator, bemoaning the loss of the shore region to the white people, would often make mention of the shellfish his ancestors used to gather. There seems to have been a persistent tradition that some Indian tribes ate their meat raw. So Cooper had a group of his Hurons do it, that they might appear more wild and fierce, and form a greater contrast with the "good Indians." One of the Hurons killed a straggling fawn, and, cutting off the best portions, carried it with him to the camp where,"without any aid from the science of cookery, he was immediately employed, in common with his fellows, in gorging himself with this desirable sustenance." [2]

In the Yemassee battle song, and in the boastful threats of Indian warriors there are assertions that warriors drank the blood of their enemies, to imbibe their valor. Let us hope that these were figures of speech, rather than statements of fact.

The Indians of all the novels are fond of"firewater." Almost every author regrets the influence and effect of the liquor upon the Indians. In DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE Mr. Paulding's hero started out upon a fur trading trip up the Hudson, accompanied by a faithful negro slave. His boat was loaded principally with kegs of firewater. They met a villianous-looking Indian named Paskingoe who said he had

1. H.B.Stowe,OLD TOWN FOLKS,pub.by Houghton,Mifflin Co., Riverside edition, 1896,p.179.

2. J.F.Cooper,LAST OF THE MOHICANS,pub.by Chas.Scribner's Sons, 1924,p.99.

furs at the Mohawk village. By various tricks the chief and his mates got hold of the liquor, and became so fierce that Sybrandt owed his life to the accidental arrival of Sir William Johnson and his retinue. [1]

Occonestoga is brought to his end by liquor. He drank the liquor of the English and it made him unworthy to be chief of the Yemassees. Even his father Sanutee gave him up to the disgrace of dismissal from the tribe. When the broad arrow was cut from his shoulder, Occonestoga would be as dead to his tribe and his family. Not even the happy hunting grounds were open to such an outcast. From this fate Matiwan saved him by putting him to death.

A native drink is mentioned in THE YEMASSEE. It was a "simple beer common to their people, and extracted from the pleasanter roots of the forest, with the nature of which all Indians in their rude pharmacy were familiar." [2]

A particularly drunken scene is that in chapter I of CANOE AND SADDLE, rather humorously treated by Theodore Winthrop. These were Indians of the Pacific Coast, who were rapidly disappearing at the time of which Winthrop was writing. [3]

It is certainly much pleasanter to return to the Indians of the earlier volumes of Cooper, where Uncas clears the spring of leaves, and all drink from the gourd the medicinal water.

1. J.K.Paulding, THE DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE, Vol.I, J.&.J.Harper, N.Y., 1831, p.97.

2. W.G.Simms, THE YEMASSEE, A.C.Armstrong & Son, N.Y., 1882, p.85.

3. Theodore Winthrop, CANOE AND SADDLE, pub.by Wm.Patterson, of Edinburg, Chap.I.

The food for the war-path and the journey of the Indian runner was parched corn. It was carried in a leathern pouch such as that from which Sanutee drew his lunch, which consisted of parched corn and dried venison. Magua, the runner, had a wallet of parched corn for his frugal meal.

Tobacco usually followed the meal. When the werowance of the Paspaheghs neglected this custom and rose to address the council without smoking, Captain Percy and Diccon regarded their doom as approaching. The prisoners had received the same food as the Paspaheghs, namely maize cakes and boiled fish.[1] There were also cakes of "chinquapin meal and gourds of pohickory."

Smoking the peace pipe was a universal custom, apparently. It preceded every council as an introductory ceremony, and was a sign of peace. It also followed deliberations in which any agreement was made.

H. Their religion.

The religion of the non-Christian Indians had three aspects which are frequently portrayed in novels. First, the ennobling, abstract adoration of a Manitou, who was the creator of all men and of the world of nature. He was the Great Spirit to whom Occonestoga and Uncas commended their spirits for their journeys to the happy hunting ground. He was the spirit of all good and was opposed by the spirit of all evil, called in THE YEMASSEE "Opitchi-Nenneyto", who is the fiend incarnate, ever willing to grasp the weakling and the dishonored. He had many forms, all tending to catch the

1. Mary Johnston, TO HAVE AND TO HOLD, Grossett & Dunlap, No edition date, p. 297.

unwary. He was the eddy in the river, which swirled away the body of the Mingo before his friend could rescue it, only to deposit it upon a rock convenient for Chingachgook to take honor from it by way of the scalp.

The spirits of evil in nature had to be constantly propitiated and even then they were so numerous that neglect of an essential one was quite sure to occur.

There was also a pantheon of Manitous, not evil, but, shall we say, utilitarian; such as the gods of the hunt, love-making, and battle. Simms furnishes several hymns to these different Manitous. At the time of a sudden storm this song was chanted to the evil spirit manifest therein. [1]

"Thy wing, Opitchi-Manneyto,
It overthrows the tall trees-
Thy breath, Opitchi-Manneyto,
Makes the waters tremble-
Thou art in the hurricane,
When the wigwam tumbles-
Thou are in the arrow-fire,
When the pine is shiver'd-
But upon the Yemassee,
Be thy coming gentle-
Are they not thy well-beloved?
Bring they not a slave to thee?
Look, the slave is bound for thee,
'Tis the Yemassee that brings him.
Pass, Opitchi-Menneyto-
Pass, black spirit, pass from us-
Be thy passage gentle."

1. W.G.Simms, THE YEMASSEE, A.C.Armstrong & Son, N.Y., 1882, p. 212.

Another phase of the Indian's religion is made much of in novel writing, namely, the respect amounting to veneration, accorded to certain animals. Certain tribes believed that the souls of one's ancestors might be found in animals at times. Others venerated certain traits which the animals exemplified in high degree. Occonestoga apologized to the rattlesnake before killing it, because, Simms tells us, [1] the Indian thinks the rattlesnake a gentleman of honor, who, like the Indian, warns first, and then strikes fatally at first blow. He is brave, not running from an enemy. The totem animal was the advisor and protector of the tribesmen, who must not kill one of the breed except under extreme necessity.

The Indian youth was expected to select a guardian animal or bird, who would advise him personally throughout life. The guardian spirit was usually selected in this fashion. The youth retired to a lonely spot, preferably on the bald top of some hill. Here he spent the night, or several nights, alone, without food, until in a dream or vision was revealed to him some bird or animal the course he should pursue. Then he returned to his family and was considered a brave, ready for his first trial in battle. That is what the boy was doing who was surprised on the hilltop of the Pamunkey village by the werowance of the Paspaheghs. The lad was painted white and was praying to the One over All. [2]

The Huron for whom Magua waited respectfully on the shore

1. W.G.Simms, THE YEMASSEE, A.C.Armstrong & Son, N.Y., 1882, p.178.
2. Mary Johnston, TO HAVE AND TO HOLD, Grossett & Dunlap, No edition date, p. 293.

of the beaver pond was addressing his guardian spirit, possibly an ancestor in animal guise. Hawkeye's masquerade in the skin of a bear was successful, first, because the bear was respected as a harmless animal, allowed the freedom of the camp, and, second, because the favorite conjuror of the tribe was often attired in the skin of a bear. Superstitious belief in conjurors was common to all the Indian tribes; even the astute Delawares placed confidence in the conjuror for the relief of the dying maiden.

The Christian Indians are represented as very devout, indeed, gentle and humble. The mission friends of RAMONA are examples are examples of that type. Others are found in DUKE OF STOCKBRIDGE, and OLD TOWN FOLKS. The Indians in the latter story are descendants of Eliot's converts, and had the advantage of several generations of living after the fashion of the white people.

I. Their characteristic traits;

1' Good qualities,

2' Faults.

There has been much controversy about the portrayal of character. It chiefly centered about the books of Cooper. Some writers asserted that Cooper had idealized the Indian far more than was permissible in a novel; that his good Indians were too good, and his villains too villainous. Others retorted that Cooper's Indians were as real as story-book characters ought to be, and pointed out the faults of his "good" Indians, and the humanizing touches in his portrayal of the villain Magua. There would be little value in adding to such

controversial literature. It is far more desirable to examine at first hand some of the characterizations, to see exactly what traits the authors have shown.

Although EDGAR HUNTLY was written in 1799, it has been used here as the first novel featuring Indians, because Charles Brockden Brown is usually considered a novelist of the nineteenth century. In EDGAR HUNTLY appeared the roving Indians who had attacked a white settler's cabin, and carried away a young girl. They belonged to the fierce, vindictive tribes, who raided the frontier, and had killed Edgar's parents some years before. They were prudent, having set a sentinel before going to sleep in the cave. Edgar knew they were alert even in slumber, so he worked in absolute silence. He killed that Indian sentinel and escaped with the girl to a hut in the woods, where, after some exciting adventures he succeeded in killing all the pursurers. These Indians did not seem to be possessed of superhuman woodcraft, skill or strength. Edgar was able to hide from them, ambush and kill them with their own weapons.

The only individualized Indian in Edgar Huntly is Queen Mab, or Old Deb. She does not appear in person in the story, but she is well described. When her tribe was considering removal to the banks of the Wabash, she opposed it with all her eloquence and authority, but in vain. Then she declared her resolution to remain alone, to which she stubbornly adhered, in spite of persuasion. When all had gone, she burned the old wigwams, and retired to the cabin in the forest.

She continued to abide there with three wolf dogs to whom she talked continuously. She fed them with corn and they brought her small game. Whenever she had need of anything which she could not procure for herself, she went to the settlers and demanded it. She appeared to feel that the entire region was hers, her superiors having left it to her rule, and that the settlers were merely tenants at her will, bound to supply the owner of the land with necessities. They tolerated her assumption of right, because she never asked for more than her actual needs required. Each autumn her brothers and sons dutifully came to visit her, and urged her to return with them.

In THE LAST OF THE MOHICANS, (1826) appear Cooper's greatest Indians. There are Uncas, Chingachgook and Magua, as well as whole tribes of Iroquois, Hurons, and Delawares. There is an opportunity to see Indian character in the mass, as well as individually.

Van Doren says[1] that Cooper always frankly admitted that he had idealized Uncas, just as Homer had done with his heroes. Uncas's dying young was the logical thing for a completely idealized hero. It saves the strain of trying to make such a good person appear human. The illusion can be maintained for a meteoric career like that of Uncas, but hardly for a lifetime such as Chingachgook and Hawkeye live in the Leatherstocking Tales.

Chingachgook is the fierce and implacable warrior who could risk his life in swimming to the rock to scalp the Huron.

1. Carl VanDoren, THE AMERICAN NOVEL, MacMillan Co., 1921, p.34.

Exceedingly crafty he is, and cunning in all woodlore, faithful to his friend Hawkeye and to those entrusted to his care, pathetic in his love for his only son and in his loneliness. He has been so stoical and laconic of speech, that we are much surprised at the scene in which Uncas and his father talk lovingly together in the Mohican language, beside the dying campfire.

Magua is a villain,very fierce, subtle, stoical, greedy of proffered rewards, yet willing to sacrifice them for revenge upon Munro, who, years before, had had him publicly whipped. Unprincipled he certainly was, and very selfish, conceited, and boastful also. Hawkeye considers him as exemplifying the traits of the Hurons, treachery and dishonesty.

Though Chingachgook and Uncas are exceptionally good, all Delawares, Hawkeye declares, are trustworthy, fond of justice, brave and honest. Their codes of honor and of etiquette differ from that of the whites, but are worthy of respect.

Arrowhead, the Tuscarora, in THE PATHFINDER (1840) is a proud and dignified Indian, keeping his own council, and managing with skill the investment of the blockhouse on the island. We must admire the adroitness with which he manages his departure from the ship in his canoe.

Dew-of-June is an unusual Indian Squaw. Although loyal to Arrowhead, she displayed real affection for the white girl, Mabel Dunham. Cooper allows her to talk so that we may know something more of her real character. She is a little jealous

of Mabel, whom Arrowhead apparently desires to have as a secondary wife, polygamy being allowed among the Tuscaroras. Yet she says, if she must have a sister wife, she chooses Mabel. She is ignorant of the ways of white people, very gentle and low-voiced. We cannot help feeling that her mourning at the grave of Arrowhead is genuine.

In THE DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE, (1831) the young Sybrandt and his slave Tjerck met a group of Mohawks who had come to fish at the Falls of Fort Edward. They are led by a rascally chief, called Paskingoe or One-eyed. "He was a tall athletic savage, six feet high, of a ferocious appearance and indifferent character. He had lost an eye in some drunken brawl, and having mixed a good deal with the white men, exhibited the usual effects of such intercourse, in a combination of the vices of both races. Cunning, avaricious, and revengeful, he still had sufficient mastery over his feelings to disguise them when occasion required, except when under the influence of intoxication; then his bad passions became ungovernable, and his rage without discrimination or control."[1] The Indians had seen the traders approaching. When Paskingoe learned of the liquor Sybrandt had brought, he enticed him up the Sacondaga. Sybrandt was suspicious and unwilling to go, but he did not dare refuse Paskingoe, who later compelled him to open the casks of liquor. Surely Paskingoe is not idealized. Indians of the same type appear in A NEW HOME, (1841) although there is no character named.[2]

1. J.K.Palding, THE DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE, pub.by J.& J.Harper, N.Y., 1831, p.87.

2. C.M.Kirkland, A NEW HOME-WHO'LL FOLLOW? pub.by Chas.St.Francis N.Y., 1841.

W. G. Simms gave his Yemassees the courage and dignity he thought they had before the white men came. Sanutee is wise, politic and brave, a great statesman and patriot, a stern father and faithful friend. Occonestoga is courteous, gentle, brave, a very Uncas, except for his love for the white men's liquor. Matiwan is a squaw somewhat like Dew-of-June,--gentle, loving, patient, forgiving, but she shows supreme courage when she kills Occonestoga to save him from everlasting disgrace. Knowing Harrison, the English prisoner, to be Lord Craven, she releases him, partly because of kindness to her father years before, and partly because she cannot bear to think that in his death some other mother is losing her boy.

Sanutee's affection for Matiwan and gentle treatment of the pet fawn, immediately followed by his manly rage over the glass beads, and his condemnation of Occonestoga, are still other lights on Sanutee's character.

Neshobee in GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS (1839) is pictured as a faithful servant and messenger, very loyal to Captain Hendee and his daughter, Miss Alma. If that were all, a negro would have done just as well. Negroes could have brought the guns to Warrington and Allen in the barn, and would have accepted the half-crowns just as thankfully and more gracefully. Neshobee, we are told, came into camp so silently that the boys did not hear him, requested to see the Captain, and was chaffed. He made a sarcastic reply, and remained absolutely silent thereafter, till Captain Warrington appeared. He delivered his message and gratefully

acknowledged a kindness the Captain had done him some time before. It was Neshobee who was the family hunter, protector and scout. He was always hearing sounds unheard by others, and otherwise displaying his woodcraft.

This book also contains a statement by the widow Story on the general subject of Indians that is meant to show how frontier people felt about them at the beginning of the Revolution.[1] "What security have we in these outposts of the settlement even in times of peace, against a hostile visit from the Indians?--That danger is daily increasing. The sad experience of my father's family, who were half slain by these hell-hounds of the wilderness at the outbreak of the last war---In peace they are even to be distrusted; and the first rumor of war that strikes their ears will put them to whetting their knives for slaughter; while they are sure to anticipate the coming contest by striking the first blow on the defenseless families of the frontier."

Cammuk in THE BAY PATH (1857) is not pictured at length, but we can judge of his character when we read that he had a gift of partridges for Mary Pynchon and was received with joy by her young brother, with whom he was a prime favorite.

He ate a plateful of cold venison and cornbread, then lay down on the hearth to sleep. The Pynchons retired and left him there, their only concern being, lest he should get into the fire. It seemed his good nature was well-known.[2]

1. D.P.Thompson, GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS, pub. by A.L.Burt Co., 1839, p.61.
2. J.G.Holland, THE BAY PATH, pub. by Chas.Scribner's Sons, N.Y. 1909, p.138.

One of the qualities not yet mentioned is vanity which often showed itself in love of finery. Coats and headgear, strings of blue glass beads, medals, and ornaments of various sorts are mentioned as pleasing to the Indian's vanity. So were long addresses from potentates and fine sounding titles.

Another was personal pride. Even those Christian Indians of Stockbridge were represented as so proud that they could never overlook an indignity to their persons. Jake Konkapot and his brother Abe were rivals for the hand of beautiful Lu Nimham. Jake was favored by the mother as he was "well fixed", but Abe had worn a soldier's coat in the Revolution. Jake schemed to disgrace Abe in the eyes of Lu. Jake knew that Abe swore when angry, having acquired that evil habit in the war. He also knew that the magistrates punished swearing with lashes; so he got Abe angry, let the magistrates hear him swear, and then brought Lu to the place just as poor Abe was being whipped. Lu may have liked Abe best, but she could never marry him after seeing him whipped. [1] Another illustration of the same fierce pride Magua shows, when he says that revenge against Munro is his chief purpose in keeping the girls from their father, Munro having had him publicly whipped some years before.

Reverence of the Indians for rank and age is spoken of and exemplified again and again. The most impressive places are, the reception of Tamenund at the council, and the meeting of Ramona with the aged Temecula woman. This

1. Edward Bellamy, DUKE OF STOCKBRIDGE, pub. by Silver, Burdett & Co., N.Y., 1900, p. 347.

interview was carried on through Alessandro as interpreter, The aged woman was brought in a wheelbarrow to see the wife of her young chief. Everyone stayed nearby to see whether she approved of Ramona. Fortunately Ramona felt the same reverence for age as they, and she said and did the right things. Ramona said:[1] "I bow down to her great age with reverence, and I hope if it is the will of God that I live on the earth as long as she has, I may be worthy of such reverence as these people feel for her." Alessandro looked approvingly at Ramona and translated the speech, adding that they would be her son and daughter. At last the old woman spoke: "It is well: I am your mother. The winds of the valley shall love you, and the grass shall dance when you come. The daughter looks on her mother's face each day. I will go." This was a sort of invitation into the tribe.

A common statement in novels is to the effect that all Indians are eloquent. To prove it the authors usually give one long speech of the spell-binding variety. In THE YEMASSEE there is a speech of Sanutee against the sale of land to the English. In LAST OF THE MOHICANS are several notable speeches, including that of Magua claiming his prisoners. The werowance, Opechancanough, and Nantauquas wax eloquent in TO HAVE AND TO HOLD, Paskingoe makes an inflammatory address under the influence of Sybrandt's firewater.[2] Even Winthrop's drunken Duke had to make a

1. H.H.Jackson, RAMONA, pub.by Little, Brown & Co., 1931, p.287.

2. J.K.Paulding, THE DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE, Vol.1, J.& J.Harper, N.Y., 1831, p. 96,97.

boastful speech before he could be persuaded to row the traveler across.[1]

Gravity was considered an attribute inseparable from the Indian character. It belonged to Uncas, Chingachgook, Arrowhead, Neshobee, and Nantauquas. Only a few authors have attempted to lighten the sad faces of the Indians with a smile. Neshobee looks on the inpaled Remington with a "gleeful grin". Across the face of Opechancanough flitted a smile when he heard Captain Percy's boast. Again, Opechancanough smiled as he offered his hand in farewell, but behind the smile there was neither warmth nor friendlessness. Uncas, Matiwan and Nantauquas smiled pleasantly and naturally, the smile that could be trusted. W. G. Simms, in an aside from his story, said that the Indian"delights in a joke, practical or otherwise, and is not scrupulous about its niceness or propriety."

Toward children and animals the Indian was usually indulgent. Only braves in the fury of war would slaughter children. Unless revenge or expediency of travel prevented, they were quite likely to care for the captive children in their own families. Selden in GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS had been such a captive. In THE STORY OF TONTY little Barbe is walking with her uncle in the crowded street of Montreal. A tall stalking brave was pushed against her. She hammered him upon his bare back and cried, "Get out of my way thou ugly big warrior!" He drew his knife, but when he saw it

1. T.Winthrop, THE CANOE AND THE SADDLE, pub.by Wm.Patterson, Edinburg, 1883, p. 5.

was a child he laughed, made a mocking gesture and menaced her playfully with his thumb. And this was the haughty Seneca!

In common with many uncivilized people, the Indians felt respect and even awe for the mentally infirm. David Gamut, the psalm-singer, seemed to the Delawares insane, so they tolerated his wandering about the camp. Even in battle the Hurons admired the firmness with which he sang his death song, as he stood protecting the two girls.[1]

The adjectives sullen, morose and impassive were "inapplicable to the Indian in his natural surroundings." [2] W. G. Simms says, "In his council he is fond of speaking; glories in long talks; and as he grows old, if you incline a willing ear, even becomes garrulous."[3] In the presence of white men the Indian was usually silent, because he was too proud to attempt expression in a language he could not use fluently. His proud spirit could not endure being laughed at.

Authors vary considerably in their opinions of the Indian honesty. The rough trader in A NEW HOME said he sold the Indians firewater because they would get it somewhere anyway. He said they always paid honestly for it, and never stole anything from him, though the other settlers had considerable trouble. In TO HAVE AND TO HOLD Ralph and Diccon lay bound to the great logs, such as the Indians roll before their doors when they go

1. J.F.Cooper, LAST OF THE MOHICANS, pub.by Chas.Scribner's Sons, 1924, p. 182.

2. G.P.Krapp, THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN AMERICA, pub.by Century Co., N.Y., 1925, Vol.1, p. 267.

from home. Thieves are not expected. Alessandro said there had never been but one thief in his tribe, and he had been so severely punished that he ran away. Indians never killed one another for gold, Alessandro said; for revenge, perhaps, or in sudden anger, but not for greed of money. Apparently honesty was a virtue possessed by the Indians until corrupted by civilization.

THE INDIAN AS A CHARACTER IN A NOVEL.

III. The Indian as a character in the novels.

A. Author's reasons for using Indian characters.

There seem to be three principal reasons for introducing Indian characters in novels. Some authors like Brown and Cooper desired to use native scenery and border society, that their novels might be counted genuinely American in tone. No story of the frontier could be written without Indians, but few of them are at all comparable to Cooper's. Other authors, writing along the line of their principal interests. have brought in a few Indians as local color, or exciting force. This is what Mrs. Stowe has done in OLD TOWN FOLKS. Harry and Tina, who are escaping from their cruel guardian, find an Indian tent in which they take refuge. The squaw, a praying Indian, shelters them until her husband returns and drives them out. In several of Captain King's stories an entire tribe of plains Indians appear with ponies, travios, squaws, papooses, and dogs, trails across in the background and disappears, leaving the reader feeling that he has seen the pageant of a passing race.

Then there are the author who wrote in sympathy for the Indians. Cooper's LAST OF THE MOHICANS sounds this note of sympathy with the tribes driven from the hunting grounds of their ancestors. It appears particularly in the speech of Tamenund and of Chingachgook after the burial of Uncas. W. G. Sims wrote of the last glories of the Yemassees, giving them sympathy for the loss of their lands, and the loss of their primitive vigor of mind and body. Captain King evidently did not hold a high opinion of the reservation

Indians, but he gave them his sympathy for their helplessness in the face of impending doom, and for the rank mismanagement and dishonesty of the Indian agents and traders. His novels were written in the years closely following the Custer massacre; popular feeling would not appreciate too great sympathy with the Indians.

RAMONA by Helen Hunt Jackson was out-and-out propaganda for better treatment of the California Indians. She made her ex-mission Indians in every way so like the high-caste Mexicans that they seemed to merit just as much consideration as any citizen of California. The Indian seemed to be saying, "Am I not a fellow man? Do I not need what you need, and appreciate what you appreciate?" Mrs. Jackson summed up the attitude she desired to fix in the minds of her readers in the words of Aunt Ri,[1] "I'll never hyar a word said agin 'em, never, ter my longest day.-- The way the pore things had just stripped themselves to git things for Ramony, beat all I ever see among white folks. The sick allers ez took care on among them, they said, 's long uz enny on 'em hez got a thing left. That's ther way they are raised; I allow white folks might take a lesson on 'em in thet; 'n 'in heaps uv other things tew. Oh, I'm done talking again Injuns, naow, don't yeow furgit it!"

Mrs. Jackson has much to say about the inefficient service of the agents and agency doctors, the injustice to the Indians in courts of law, the persecution of them by incoming settlers, and the blemish upon the fair name of the United States caused by such neglect of its wards.

1. H.H.Jackson,RAMONA, Little,Brown & Co., 1931,p. 408.

B. Methods of using the Indians as a character.

1' As a shadow in the background.

The favorite method of introducing Indian characters seems to be as an exciting force, a part of the background necessary for the progress of the story.

In the books of Captain Charles King, for example, whenever a temporary absence of the hero is needed to make the heroine's heart grow fonder, an orderly clicks his heels in salute, and says, "General Blank desires you to report at once for service on the border." Stopping only long enough to secure his equipment and trusty steed, the hero rushes from the ball-room to the battle-field. The Indians fight bravely, or flee frantically, as the case may be. The battle is soon over, and the hero returns, covered with glory enough to soften the heart of the fair one, or with a wound which makes possible an appealing convalesence. The Indians in such a story get little attention. They are Apaches, Tontos, Cheyennes or Sioux, mounted on stout, unshod ponies. They have escaped from a reservation, or are a band of forlorn rebels, holding out on some inaccessible mountain top. In M. H. Catherwood's STORY OF TONTY, the Indians make the complete background of the story, against which Tonty, LaSalle, Mademoiselle Barbe Cavalier, and the wicked Abbe play their parts. The warrior Sanomp, blood brother to Tonty, and the Indian Catherine Tegahkouita are the only individual Indians. The saintly Catherine, heavily veiled, crosses the stage only once. Blood-brother Sanomp is provided for the purpose of saving the principals from death by the Iroquois in the wilderness

camp. It has to be admitted that the imposing list of tribes at the beaver fair, with the necessary description, forms a very colorful background.

2' As a speechless actor.

Emerging but little from the background are those Indians who take part in novels by bringing gifts, sitting at firesides, eating the white man's food, trading furs, warning of approaching dangers, and paddling canoes. Such were the silent Indians who brought the baskets of food to Mary Woodcock's new house,[1] the passing brave who laughed at Barbe Cavelier,[2] the blanketed chief in A NEW HOME,[3] and the Apache scouts in THE COLONEL'S DAUGHTER.[4]

3' As a speaker.

Occasionally a book is found in which one or more Indians take slight speaking parts. Such Indians are Neshobee in D. P. Thompson's GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS, Arahawa, alias Washington Charley in THE COLONEL'S DAUGHTER by Charles King, and Abe Konkapot in DUKE OF STOCKBRIDGE. Best of all for our study are those books where the Indians take long and important speaking parts, like that of Sanutee and Matiwan in THE YEMASSEE; Nantanquas and Opechancanough in TO HAVE AND TO HOLD; Uncas, Magua and Tamenund in THE LAST OF THE MOHICANS; Paskingoe in THE DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE; and Ramona and Alessandro in RAMONA.

1. J.G.Holland, THE BAY PATH, pub. by Chas.Scribner's Sons, 1909.
2. Mary H.Catherwood, STORY OF TONTY, A.C.McClurg & Co., 1928, p.26.
3. Mrs.C.M.S.Kirkland, A NEW HOME, 1839, C.S.Francis, p.46.
4. Capt. Chas.King, THE COLONEL'S DAUGHTER, J.B.Lippincott Co., (no date) p. 168.

a. Conversation.

Most of the speaking parts alloted to the Indians consist of dialogue. Very few authors make any attempt at picturing their dialects. Those who do so have difficulty in keeping it from being just like that of the negroes. A far more common method is to name the language in which the character is speaking and then translate for the benefit of the reader through the mouth of one of the other characters, or even directly from the author. Now and then an author permits his Indians to speak English perfectly without translation. In such a case he is obliged to explain how they learned the language. Those authors who state that their characters speak a sort of "lingua franca", or "pidgin English," are seldom kind enough to furnish a sample. A few illustrations of these different conversational methods will show clearly the limitations of the dialect writers, and the freedom of those who translate. An author who has carefully built up a heroic figure of dignity, does not care to put in its mouth a manner of speech closely resembling that of an infant or a negro comedian.

Neshobee, though he was brought up by the Hendees, had never learned English well. A fact strange enough in itself, until we consider that his position had been menial, and that there were also negro servants in the family.

Neshobee, ("in the peculiar, jerking guttural of the native Indian"); "Umph! Massa Cappen - him no here!" Pete Jones asked him what he wanted, to which he quickly replied: "When me tell, then you know".[1] When Warrington came,

1. D.P.Thompson GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS, pub. by A.L.Burt Co., 1839, p.11.

Neshobee said, "Massa Cappen no remember Neshobee. No remember shoot three wolf." He then described the rescue, for which he was grateful, in language of exactly the same type. His conversation throughout the story follows the same dialect pattern, namely short, jerky sentences, having objective case pronouns or personal names as subjects, and containing mispronunciations by the score. Judge Thompson comments upon Neshobee's wolf speech as "the longest, perhaps, he had ever made in his life, for unluckily, it may be, for the romance of our tale, Neshobee was no Logan or Red Jacket, either in length of speech or that peculiar eloquence which most of our writers seem to delight in attributing to the sons of the forest." [1]

Captain King says in THE COLONEL'S DAUGHTER that Arahawa, or Washington Charley had been taken to Washington, and kept some time at San Francisco, where he had picked up a little English, not unlike the "pidgin English" of the Chinese.

Here is a specimen conversation:

General Fanshaw: "But what I want to know is, whose bands are those down in the basin?"

Charley: Mebbe so Deltchay; maybe so 'skiminzing, no can tell."

General Fanshaw: "Ask Kwonahelka; he knows."

So Charles and his associates held a brief confab, in which much gesticulation was used on both sides; then Charley replied; "Kwonahelka he say, 'Skeltetsee by Mogeyone. 'Skeltetsee got plenty Tonto." [2]

1. D.P.Thompson; GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS, pub.by A.L.Burt & Co., 1839, p.15.

2. Capt.Chas.King, THE COLONEL'S DAUGHTER, pub.by J.B.Lippincott Co. Philadelphia, (no edition date) p.169

Theodore Winthrop inTHE CANOE AND SADDLE furnishes us with a specimen of the Chinook or combination language used in talk with the Indians of the Northwestern coast.[1] Here the traveler is speaking to the slightly drunken Duke. (The translation is Winthrop's)

"Pottlelum mitlite King Jawge; - Drunk lieth King George."

"Cultus tyee ocook; - A beggarly majesty that."

"Hyas Tyee Mika; A mighty prince thou art."

"Mika Tikky hyack klatawah copa Squally, copa canim; I would with all speed cance it to Squally."

"Hui Possissy nika potlatch pe hui ikta; Store of blankets will I give and plenteous sundries."

The language of Queen Mab must have been remarkable, for we are told, "She always disdained to speak English, and custom had rendered her intelligible to most in her native language, with regard to a few simple questions. [2]

When Lu Nimham comes to warn the Duke of Stockbridge, she speaks the dialect closely resembling that of Neshobee quoted before, although her people had lived closely associated with the English for a hundred years.[3] Her lover, Abe Konkapot, had learned many things of the soldiers among whom he fought, but apparently not their language for he says, "You hear true, Heap go. Some stay. No want to go." [4]

1. Theodore Winthrop,THE CANOE AND SADDLE,pub. by William Patterson of Edinburg, 1882, p. 5.

2. Chas.Brockden Brown,EDGAR HUNTLY, pub.by M.Polock, Philadelphia, 1857, p.188.

3. Edward Bellamy,DUKE OF STOCKBRIDGE,pub.by Silver,Burdett & Co.,N.Y.,1900, p.212.

4. Idem, p. 2.

It is necessary for a great chief like Arrowhead to be laconic in dialect if he is to remain a noble figure. When shown Cap's compass he says: "Ugh! Paleface eye." "Saltwater all eye now; no tongue." [1] Dew-of-June, Arrowhead's patient adoring little squaw, understands and speaks some English, of course, since Mabel Dunham can't be expected to understand Tuscarora. She pleaded with Mabel to speak, "More slow,-- too quick." [2] Later she says, "No leave block house. Blockhouse good. No got scalp." [3]

The paragrapha below are offered for comparison of the Indian and negro dialect.

Old Tjerck is a negro in the service of Sybrandt. He is acquainted with Paskingoe. Compare his manner of talk with that of the Indians quoted above. "Ah! Paskingoe, how you do?" "I no tink to see you here; and I no glad nudder." [4]

Hector, the servant of Gabriel Harrison is a Carolina negro, but his speech is noticeably similar. "Nebber see 'em till this morning, Maussa, but speck he come up yesserday. Mass Nichol, de doctor wha' talk so big,- da him fuss show show 'em to me dis morning." [5]

Mrs. Catherwood says that the Sanomp spoke a mixture of

1. J.F.Cooper,THE PATHFINDER, Jefferson Press,N.Y.,no date,p.10.
2. Idem, p. 348.
3. Idem, p.398.
4. J.K.Paulding,THE DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE,Vol.1, pub.by J.J. Harper,N.Y., 1831,p.88.
5. W.G.Simms,THE YEMASSEE, pub.by A.C.Armstrong & Son,N.Y., 1882, p.48.

French and Iroquois intelligible to Tonty. Note the greater freedom of expression, extending even to eloquence, made possible by translation. Sanomp to Tonty: [1] "Listen, At that time of life when a young Iroquois retires from his tribe to hide in the woods and fast until his okie is revealed to him, four days and four nights the boy Sanomp lay on the ground, rain and dew, moonlight and sunlight passing over him. The boy Sanomp looked up, for an eagle dropped before his eyes. He then knew that the eagle was his okie, and that he was to be a warrior, not a hunter or medicine man. But the eagle dropped before the feet of a soldier, the image of my white brother, and the soldier held up a hand of yellow metal. Then the boy heard a voice coming from the vision that said to him, "Warrior, this is thy friend and brother. Be to him a friend and brother. After thou has seven times followed the war-path, go and wait by the mouth of the Cataraqui till he comes.' So when I had seven times followed the war-path I came and, my brother being passed by, I waited."

Magua, in LAST OF THE MOHICANS was quite a linguist, speaking English fluently to Cora and Heyward, the French of the Canadian Indians, Mohawk, Huron and Delaware. Uncas speaks several Indian languages and English, "broken and imperfect, but sufficiently intelligible." [2] Hawkeye interprets Chingachgook and Uncas for everyone, but the author translates directly the speeches at the great council

1. M.H.Catherwood, THE STORY OF TONTY, A.C.McClurg & Co., 1928, p.137.

2. J.F.Cooper, THE LAST OF THE MOHICANS, Chas.Scribner's Sons, N.Y. 1924, p.52.

of the Delawares.

Nantauquas speaks English perfectly and fluently when he wishes to do so. We are told that he learned it from Rolfe, being often at Jamestown with his sister, the Lady of Rebeckah. "'I have been in the woods to hunt' he said, in the slow musical English Rolfe had taught him. 'I knew where a panther lodged, and to-day I laid a snare, and took him in it. I brought him to my brother's house, and caged him there. When I have tamed him, I shall give him to the beautiful lady.'" [1]

A number of authors have referred to the musical voices with which the Indians spoke English and the musical sounds of their native language. Cooper had Uncas speak in English, "rendered musical by his deep, guttural voice." [2] Dew-of-June speaks with the soft, gentle voice of the Indian girl which renders English musical. [3] Sanutee, Matiwan and Occonestoga speak their own musical language, translated by the author into figurative speech in which the pronouns I and you almost never appear as subjects; the names of the persons being used instead. Most of the authors who give their Indian characters translated or fluent English speech, cause them to use highly figurative expressions. Some of the speeches are poetic in quality, and one author, W. G. Simms, even goes so far as to provide several full length poems or songs for the Yemassees to chant.

1. J.F.Cooper,THE LAST OF THE MOHICANS,Chas.Scribner's Sons,N.Y., 1924, p. 52.

2. Mary Johnston,TO HAVE AND TO HOLD,Grosset & Dunlap,N.Y., No edition date, p.166.

3. J.F.Cooper,THE PATHFINDER,Jefferson Press,N.Y.,No ed.date,p.350-371

Several authors speak of the guttural voices of the Indians without the added idea of music. Neshobee spoke in the "peculiar, jerking guttural,"[1] and the Oldtown Indians in "the harsh, guttural Indian language." [2]

b. Formal speech.

The long, formal speeches in novels are patterned after one or another of the famous Indian orations which have existed for some time in translation, and have been used entire in many a story setting. D. P. Thompson's reference to speeches of Logan and Red Jacket I have already quoted. In the preface to a group of Indian orations attributed to noted Indian chiefs, the editor says, [3] "Although doubt has been expressed that such speeches as those of Tecumseh, Logan Weathersford as they appear in the English translations really represent the speeches as originally made in different Indian dialects, it seems to be well established that they are sufficiently faithful to give, not only the meaning, but the style and habits of expression which characterized the natural oratory of the American Indian."

Col. Gibson claimed that this speech of Logan was a literal translation made by Gibson himself. It was delivered in 1774, after the murder of Logan's family. [4]

1. D.P.ThompsonGREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS,pub.by A.L.Hunt & Co., 1839, p. 11.

2. H.B.Stowe, OLD TOWN FOLKS,pub.by Houghton,Mifflin Co.,1896.

3. WORLD'S BEST ORATIONS, Vol.7,pub.by Ferd P.Kaiser,St.Louis, 1901, p. 2567.

4. Idem, p. 2569.

"I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his camp, and advocated peace. Such was my love for the whites that my countrymen pointed as I passed and said: 'Logan is the friend of the white man'. I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoiced at the beams of peace; but do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan. Not one."

Speeches no less eloquent by other great chiefs helped to establish a pattern for heroic speeches in fiction.

EFFECT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY CHARACTERIZATIONS UPON PRESENT IDEAS OF INDIANS.

IV. Effect of the nineteenth century characterizations upon present ideas of Indians.

A. Our background.

We came to the twentieth century then, with a definite foundation of Indian information derived somewhat from Parkman and Palfrey, but largely from the characterizations of fiction. Some of the ideas in that foundation were as follows:

The Indian, until the white man came, was a lofty child of nature, heroic in physical and mental stature, intimate with his brothers, the animals of the forest and field. He was honest, virtuous, courteous, hospitable and trustworthy. He had a religion and an ethical code, not like ours, but fully as high and possibly less flexible.

They warred among themselves for revenge or injuries, and for the practice of the manly virtues of courage and endurance, not for greed or gain.

They unsuspectingly made the white man welcome, and were by him cheated, defrauded, corrupted, and ousted from their lands. The Indians, disillusioned concerning the white men, and seeing their hunting grounds lost, became the savage revengeful terrors of the border.

They were incited to bloody wars against certain colonial nations by other colonial powers, who curried favor with the tribesmen by providing them with blankets, weapons, powder and ball, and even liquor.

The Indians under the white men's power were driven into large reservations, where they were harshly or very unwisely

treated, giving rise to frequent rebellions, which necessitated more complete subjugation.

An Indian who took up the white man's way of living was discriminated against, and looked down upon by his white neighbors, until he became an object of pity to the tender-hearted.

Most Indians distrusted the white men, and were treacherous; but certain ones allied themselves to the side of a white friend, to remain true to him till death.

B. Our twentieth century literature.

Our twentieth century historical novels which feature Indians, owe more to ethnological research and genuine history that those of the nineteenth century did. There is now a vast accumulation of authentic information available for the author and reader. The Indian character can no longer be a purely romantic creation; he has to be a real creature whose substance and sustenance are known. But, on the other hand, there is also a romantic expectation of the reading public to which the author must cater, however much he may desire realism. The roots of this romantic expectation lie in the nineteenth century novel.

S U M M A R Y.

V Summary.

The purpose of this thesis has been to review the different ways in which Indians were characterized in novels by authors of the nineteenth century. No dime novels, juvenile books, poetry or short stories were included in the investigation. Books dealing with Indians outside the present limits of the United States were also omitted.

Novels of the nineteenth century, especially those of the early decades were much given to description. Description of natural environment was customarily furnished directly by the author, but descriptions of Indian traits and customs were often placed in the mouths of the white characters. There are, however, a number of books in which the author undertakes these descriptions also.

The external appearance of the Indian characters is based on (1) physical characteristics, and (2) clothing. Because of the value of the Indians as a figure in romance, authors have paid very careful attention to describing his physical characteristics, particularly if the Indian was to be the hero or the chief villain. Sometimes such a description appears upon the first entrance of the character, sometimes at a crisis of his career, sometimes in brief cumulative statements. The clothing of the Indians was not as carefully described as in the case of other characters, unless some piece of it was distinctive or unique. Tattooing and war-paint were important factors in the Indian's external appearance, and are carefully considered in the novels.

Moccasins, leggings, breech-clout, and some form of hunting shirt are the most frequently mentioned garments. Ornaments of metal and feathers are carefully described when any special significance is to be attached to them. Fur robes were succeeded by blankets as the animals were driven away or exterminated, and as trade with the white men increased.

The home of an Indian is seldom described at length unless the hero is to have some direct use for it as a refuge or abode. A single sentence is usually sufficient.

Although customs must vary with the tribe named, there were several customs which, the authors seem to agree, were in use among all except the civilized Indians. These were totems, animal guardians, belief in a Manitou and evil spirits, division of labor, similar methods of warfare, use of wampum, government by council of chiefs, burning a victim at the stake and other forms of torture, use of swift runners as messengers, establishment of places of refuge, the death song, and the bestowing of personal names full of meaning.

Investigation shows that certain tribes are more popular with authors than others are, due to curious tribal customs, a notable characteristic of the tribe, or geographical location.

The weapons of the Indians before the coming of the white men were flint knives, tomahawks, war clubs, bows and arrows, The Indians procured steel knives, hatchets and even guns from the white men in trade, by capture, or as purchase price of their alliance to one side or the other in the French and

Before the coming of the white men no Indians had horses, therefore, speedy travel on foot was very important. Indian runners and war parties traveling at a lope or trot appear in most of the novels. Transportation in the east where navigable waters were abundant, was chiefly by canoe of which descriptions are abundant. The western and plains Indians were usually mounted.

Introduction of food and eating into a novel has one of these purposes; to show a character in a new light, to serve as an example of a tribal custom, to form a part of the setting of the scene. A savage tribe feasted to satiety whenever food was abundant, and starved patiently when it was scarce. Kinds of food named varied with the location of the tribe pictured, but venison was named most often. Eating raw meat and drinking the blood of enemies are traditions repeated in these novels. The fondness of the Indians for liquor was retold more or less strongly in each novel. Parched corn and succotash were characteristic Indian foods, at least, in novels. Tobacco, while not a food, is listed here because its use customarily followed each meal, preceded every council or reception, and concluded every peace treaty.

The Indians believed in a Great Spirit, but also in many lesser spirits, some utilitarian, some harmful. The greatest pains were taken to propitiate the spirits of evil. Each man possessed a guardian animal spirit, obtained in a vision after a vigil of fasting and prayer.

The character traits of Indians emphasized by authors have been ferocity, vindictiveness, alertness, great physical

strength, knowledge of woodcraft, reverence for age and rank stubbornness, valor, moral virtue, undying memory for personal wrongs, craftiness, faithfulness to a friend and to a trust, affection for his family, stoicism, laconic speech, love of justice, honor, eloquence, gravity, respect for the mentally infirm, honesty, personal pride, vanity, strategy, dignity, avarice, courage, patience, vice, deceitfulness, jealousy. It will be seen that some of these qualities are antonyms which could appear in the same story as traits of the hero and the villain. Several qualities appear often enough in the description of a tribe to warrant their being considered as tribal characteristics. Others are characteristics only of individuals.

Authors introduce Indian characters into their novels to make their books distinctly American; to furnish local color or exciting force; to arouse sympathy for the Indian. Methods of employing them are, as shadows in the background, as speechless actors, and as speakers. The majority of the speaking Indians take part in conversation. A few make formal speeches. If the parts are of any length they are translations by the author, dialectical English tending to lower the dignity of the character, and perfect English exceeding the reader's credulity. Conversation in dialect is very similar to that of the negro. The voices of the Indian women are conceded by most authors to be low and musical; some even attribute that quality to the warriors in their own language. More prefer to speak of the guttural

voices of the men. Formal speeches in the novels are patterned after speeches of famous chiefs as they exist in translation.

The nineteenth century characterizations in novels have affected our present ideas of Indians by providing us with a definite foundation of Indian information with which we unconsciously compare the Indian characterizations of any twentieth century author.

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